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THE
Israel Suckston
REPUBLICAN POCKET PISTOL,

A COLLECTION OF

Facts, Opinions and Arguments

FOR

FREEDOM.

EDITED BY

WILLIAM H. BURLEIGH, ESQ.

NEW-YORK:

H. DAYTON, PUBLISHER,

No. 36 HOWARD-STREET.

1860.

**THE
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PREFACE.

THE SERIAL, of which this is the initial number, will be continued, by monthly issues, till the Presidential Election. Its object is to present, in the most concise form practicable, the principles and aims of the Republican party, the issues involved in its contest with the Slave Power and its Democratic allies; the sentiments of the leading statesmen of the country, past and present, in reference to those issues, and such other matters of interest as may be evolved in the progress of the political struggle upon which we have entered. What every working Republican will desire, in the way of fact, argument, and opinion, for himself and for his neighbor, to inform the ignorant, convince the prejudiced, and stimulate the lukewarm, will be given in this POCKET PISTOL series, in a form at once compact, neat, and at a price which will enable our Republican Clubs to put a copy of it into the hands of every voter who can read.

For that portion of the work which has proceeded from the pen of the editor, nothing is claimed beyond what may be due to honest convictions, hon-

estly expressed. If his criticisms are just, and his arguments sound, the rhetoric may safely be left to take care of itself. But for the opinions of the Fathers of the Confederacy, and for those of the scarcely less eminent and equally patriotic statesmen of a later day, which he has here given, he asks the most earnest attention of all. Let not their familiarity obscure any one's perception of their real significance. They demonstrate, with absolute conclusiveness, the identity of the views entertained by the Republicans of to-day, on the overshadowing issue that neither the people nor the politicians can longer ignore, with those entertained by Washington and his compeers, and from their day down to the time of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, by a large majority of our statesmen, South as well as North, whose names are to be known to history. Thus, too, they prove that the fact of *sectionalism* rests not with us, but with our opponents—the allies of the Slave power, and abettors of its most unconstitutional usurpations; while the Republican party is alike conservative in its principles, patriotic in its purposes, and national in its policy.

W. H. B.

NEW-YORK, *June 5th*, 1860.

REPUBLICAN PLATFORM.

ADOPTED AT CHICAGO, MAY 17th, 1860.

The Republican Party a Necessity.

Resolved, That we, the delegated representatives of the Republican Electors of the United States, in Convention assembled, in the discharge of the duty we owe to our constituents and our country, unite in the following declarations :

First. That the history of the nation, during the last four years, has fully established the propriety and necessity of the organization and perpetuation of the Republican party, and that the causes which called it into existence are permanent in their nature, and now, more than ever before, demand its peaceful and constitutional triumph.

Its Foundation Principles.

Second. That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in the Federal Constitution, is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions ; that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States and the Union of the States, must and shall be preserved ; and that we reassert " these truths to be self-evident, that all men "are created equal ; that they are endowed by

“their Creator with certain inalienable rights; “that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, “governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the “governed.”

Is True to the Union.

Third. That to the Union of the States this nation owes its unprecedented increase in population; its surprising development of material resources; its rapid augmentation of wealth; its happiness at home and its honor abroad; and we hold in abhorrence all schemes for disunion, come from whatever source they may; and we congratulate the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced a threat of disunion, so often made by Democratic members of Congress without rebuke, and with applause from their political associates; and we denounce those threats of disunion, in case of a popular overthrow of their ascendancy, as denying the vital principles of a free Government, and as an avowal of contemplated treason, which it is the imperative duty of an indignant people strongly to rebuke and forever silence.

Upholds State Sovereignty.

Fourth. That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on

which the perfection and endurance of our political faith depends, and we denounce the lawless invasion, by armed force, of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes.

Sectionalism of the Administration.

Fifth. That the present Democratic Administration has far exceeded our worst apprehensions in its measureless subserviency to the exactions of a sectional interest, as is especially evident in its desperate exertions to force the infamous Le-compton Constitution upon the protesting people of Kansas—in construing the personal relation between master and servant to involve an unqualified property in persons—in its attempted enforcement everywhere, on land and sea, through the intervention of Congress and the Federal Courts, of the extreme pretensions of a purely local interest, and in its general and unvarying abuse of the power intrusted to it by a confiding people.

Its Extravagance and Corruption.

Sixth. That the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal Government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the system of plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of fraud and corruption at the Federal metropolis, show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

A Political Heresy.

Seventh. That the new dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with cotemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent, is revolutionary in its tendency and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country.

Freedom the Normal Condition of the Territories.

Eighth. That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom ; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law, it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it ; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States.

The African Slave-Trade.

Ninth. That we brand the recent reopening of the African slave-trade, under the cover of our national flag, aided by perversions of judicial power, as a crime against humanity, a burning shame to our country and age, and we call upon Congress to take prompt and efficient measures for

the total and final suppression of that execrable traffic.

Slavery vs. The People.

Tenth. That in their recent vetoes, by their Federal Governors, of the acts of the Legislatures of Kansas and Nebraska, prohibiting slavery in those territories, we find a practical illustration of the boasted Democratic principle of non-intervention and popular sovereignty, embodied in the Kansas and Nebraska bill, and a demonstration of the deception and fraud involved therein.

Admission of Kansas.

Eleventh. That Kansas should, of right, be immediately admitted as a State, under the constitution recently formed and adopted by her people, and accepted by the House of Representatives.

Development of our Industrial Interests.

Twelfth. That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imposts, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interests of the whole country, and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the workmen liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence.

Free Homesteads.

Thirteenth. That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free Homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty, and we demand the passage by Congress of the complete and satisfactory Homestead measure which has already passed the House.

Rights of Citizenship.

Fourteenth. That the Republican party is opposed to any change in our Naturalization laws, or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired ; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad.

River and Harbor Improvements.

Fifteenth. That appropriations by Congress for River and Harbor Improvements, of a national character, required for the accommodation and security of an existing Commerce, are authorized by the Constitution and justified by an obligation of the Government to protect the lives and property of its citizens.

Pacific Railroad.

Sixteenth. That a railroad to the Pacific Ocean is imperatively demanded by the interests of the whole country ; that the Federal Government ought to render immediate and efficient aid in its

construction, and that as preliminary thereto a daily overland mail should be promptly established.

Co-operation Invited.

Seventeenth. Finally, having thus set forth our distinctive principles and views, we invite the co-operation of all citizens, however differing on other questions, who substantially agree with us in their affirmance and support.

Thus frankly and explicitly does the Republican party set forth its principles and its aims. The former, so far as they relate to the question of slavery, are in entire accordance with those held by Washington, Jefferson, and their contemporaries; the latter are alike national in their scope and beneficent in their tendencies. To the sectionalism that now controls the (so-called) Democratic party, and shapes all its activities, we oppose the principles and policy of the founders of our Confederacy, whose nationality of feeling can no more be questioned than their devotion to the interests of Republican Institutions. With them Liberty was the National Idea and the National Interest; Slavery an anomalous system, exceptional in its character, an *accident* rather than an *institution*, whose perturbations would necessarily soon cease through the opera-

tion of the polity they had established. Their purposes were right, though the fulfilment of their hopes is yet in the future. While we enjoy the fruition of their labors, let us honor their memory by completing the work which they so well begun.

THE FREEDOM OF THE TERRITORIES.

The Republican party contends for no mere abstraction. It makes no professions of philanthropy, even, though it is not doubted that a conviction of the *inhumanity* of slavery has aided multitudes of its members to see its *impolicy*. The issues involved in our controversy with the slave power are of an eminently practical character. Our growth as a nation, our advance in power, in material prosperity, and æsthetic culture, the progress of civilization in the New, and of liberal principles throughout the Old World—all these are to be effected, favorably or adversely, by the result of this controversy ; for slavery impoverishes the soil ; slavery retards the progress of the arts ; slavery is, of necessity, the enemy of common schools ; slavery puts upon honest labor the brand of degradation ; slavery demoralizes the master and imbrutes the slave ;

slavery, in time of war, endangers the public safety, and, in time of peace, is fruitful in outbreaks of lawless violence and ruffian passions.

The territories are an invaluable trust committed to the guardianship of the nation, for the benefit of millions of freemen, who will desire them for their future homes. Whatever is calculated to depreciate their value, to retard their development, to shut out from them the institutions of learning, and hinder the progress of the liberal arts, must be condemned and opposed, as both impolitic and unjust. We have only to contrast the slave States with the free, to see how destructive of material prosperity as well as hostile to educational and moral progress, is this pet institution of the South.

The territories, we are told, are our common inheritance, and therefore the slave States have the same right of occupancy therein that the free States have. True, the *same* right. But it does not follow, that because **our** northern farmer may take thither his sheep and cattle, the southern planter may therefore take his slaves, and hold them there as property. As well may the polygamist of Utah claim toleration for *his* "peculiar institution," in all the national domain, as the slaveholder for his. Because, in the

first place, *slavery is outside of the natural limitations of property*, just as polygamy is outside of the institution of Christian marriage. John Milton, who was a philosopher as well as poet, and none the less a champion of liberty, tersely expresses the limitation of property rights, in the following lines :

“ O execrable son, so to aspire
Above his brethren, to himself assuming
Authority usurp'd, from God not given :
He gave us only over beast, fish, fowl,
Dominion absolute ; that right we hold
By his donation ; but man over men
He made not lord ; such title to himself
Reserving, human left from human free.”

So far as slaves can be called property at all, they are so only by the local law or the local custom ; beyond the jurisdiction of such law, or the force of such custom, they are *men*. The law of nature never confounds humanity with property. And, again, though joint ownership carries with it the right of joint occupancy, the simplest principles of justice forbid that one party should so use the property as to destroy or greatly depreciate its value, or practically exclude the other from all participation in its benefits. Because A. and B. are joint proprietors of a house, it does not follow that A. may convert his undivided half of it into a brothel, or a

hospital for the insane, or a gambling hell, or an infirmary for small-pox or yellow fever patients. Yet, neither the wickedness of the one use, nor the peril to life of the other, would more certainly exclude B. from his possession, than the establishment of slavery in any given territory abridges and depreciates the rights and the property interests of freedom in such territory. The freeman has a *property*, convertible into, and represented by, material values—

1. In the respectability of labor :

Slavery destroys this in its degradation of the laborer.

2. In free speech and a free press :

Slavery permits the existence of neither within the limits of its jurisdiction.

3. In the system of common school education :

The conditions essential to the life of slavery are fatal to the existence of common schools.

4. In a provident agriculture, which develops and makes the most of ~~all~~ the resources of the soil :

Slavery is a wasteful and improvident system, that exhausts the soil, until, to use the eloquent language of Mr. Faulkner, of Virginia, it becomes "barren, desolate, and seared, as it were by the avenging hand of heaven."

5. In the progress of the mechanic arts, by which labor is rendered more productive, and the condition of society is ameliorated :

To all of which slavery is, by the very law of its vicious existence, irreclaimably hostile.

We might extend this view of the case indefinitely, for the antagonism between freedom and slavery must necessarily exhibit itself at every point of contact, socially, politically, pecuniarily, and morally. How fatuous, then, the pretence, that they can, in joint occupancy, possess the territories, and, like brothers in blood and faith, dwell together in unity.

THE VOICE OF THE FATHERS.

“Though dead, they yet speak to us.” No one can deny that those who laid the foundations of our nation in the broad principles of freedom, comprehended their own purpose, and understood the meaning of the ordinances and constitutions which they framed. So, when we see Jefferson drafting an ordinance that forever excludes slavery from the national domain, and his compeers, in the last Congress under the confederacy, and the first under the constitution, giving to the principle their earnest support, and Wash-

ington, as President, approving it, as embodied in a law, we may safely conclude that they did not regard the policy of slavery-restriction as either sectional or unconstitutional; and we must be pardoned if we prefer their interpretation of our organic law to that given by Mr. Douglas and a pro-slavery Democracy. Their desire to restrict slavery grew naturally out of their views of the system itself. What these views were, we may learn from their own declarations, which they have left on record. Let us look at them.

George Washington.

In a letter to John F. Mercer, dated September 9th, 1786, the illustrious Washington avowed it as among his first wishes, "to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law." In a letter written in April, of the same year, to Robert Morris, he said: "There is not a man living who wishes, more sincerely than I do, to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it (slavery); but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority; and this, as far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting." These views, substantially, were repeated from time to time, up, al-

most, to the day of his death ; and the sincerity of his convictions were evidenced in his last will and testament, by which he emancipated all his slaves.

Thomas Jefferson.

Democracy says, " We have Jefferson to our father"—but if it be indeed so, we have, in the principles which it advocates, and the policy which it pursues, a melancholy illustration of the old adage, "*The best of families will run out.*" It is seldom, we would venture to hope, that the third generation from an illustrious stock exhibits such evidence of degeneracy. Jefferson was a zealous advocate of the policy of slavery restriction, and with his own hand drafted an ordinance for its exclusion from the northwest territory. That which was subsequently prepared by Mr. Dane, of Massachusetts, and under whose beneficent operation an empire was preserved to freedom, was substantially copied from Mr. Jefferson, and is commonly spoken of as "the Jefferson-Dane Ordinance." *Why* the author of the Declaration of Independence should labor so earnestly to prevent the extension of slavery, is obvious enough to those who have read his denunciations of the system itself. Says he, in his "Notes on Virginia :"

"There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people, produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions—the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other.

The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose rein to the worst of passions, and, thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part and the *ampr patrie* of the other.

And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed their only firm basis—a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God? that they are not to be violated but by his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature, and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among pos-

sible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest."

James Monroe.

"This evil (slavery) has preyed upon the very vitals of the Union, and has been prejudicial to all the States in which it has existed."

Mason, of Virginia.

[He was, if we mistake not, the grandfather of the present Senator Mason, of evil fame, as the author of the infamous Fugitive Slave Law of 1850.] There is a striking similarity of sentiment and expression between his views and those of Jefferson. Says he :

"Slavery discourages arts and manufactures. The poor despise labor when performed by slaves. They prevent the emigration of whites, who really enrich and strengthen a country. They produce the most pernicious effect on manners. Every master of slaves is born a petty tyrant. They bring the judgment of Heaven on a country. As nations cannot be rewarded or punished in the next world, they must be in this. By an inevitable chain of causes and effects, Providence punishes national sins by national calamities."

Pinckney, of Maryland.

In a speech delivered before the Maryland House of Delegates, in 1789, the Hon. William Pinckney said :

“ I have no hope that the stream of general liberty will forever flow unpolluted through the mire of partial bondage, or that they who have been habituated to lord it over others, will not, in time, become base enough to let others lord it over them.”

There, after all, is the great danger. Two years before Pinckney thus spoke, the Hon. Luther Martin, of the same State (one of the profoundest thinkers and most accomplished jurists of his day), expressed his sense of this danger, in the following language :

“ Slavery is inconsistent with the genius of republicanism, and has a tendency to destroy those principles on which it is supported, as it lessens the sense of the equal rights of mankind, and habituates us to tyranny and oppression.”

And Jefferson, as we have already seen, gives forcible utterance to the same idea, in the question :

“ Can the liberties of a nation be thought secure, when we have removed *their only firm basis—a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are the gift of God?*”

This testimony of our earlier statesmen might be rendered much more voluminous, but scarcely more conclusive, did we include the sentiments of the Franklins, Warrens, Shermans, Adams', and others of the North, contemporaries with Washington and Jefferson. But against them the stale cry of "sectionalism" might be uttered—not [justly indeed; but what would its utterers care for that? So we have called to the witness-stand only the *National* men of the South. That they knew whereof they affirmed, and that they spoke in sorrowful conviction of what they affirmed, admits of neither doubt nor denial.

Is it, then, upon the whole, good statesmanship or decent morality, to extend to territory now free an institution which Washington and Jefferson, and Madison and Monroe, and almost every statesman of our revolutionary era, denounced and abhorred, as unjust in itself and perilous to the liberties of the country? So thought not

Henry Clay.

In a speech, in the United States Senate, in 1850, he declared that no earthly power should compel him to vote for the introduction of slavery where it had not before existed. And, again, he expressed his determination in the following emphatic language:

"So long as God allows the vital current to flow through my veins, *I will never, NEVER, NEVER, by word or thought, by mind or will, and in admitting one rood of free territory to the everlasting curse of human bondage.*"

Was Henry Clay a sectionalist? The great Southern statesman agreed in this with the still greater Northern statesman,

Daniel Webster.

In 1848, he said:

"I have made up my mind, for one, that under no circumstances will I consent to the further extension of the area of slavery in the United States, or to the further increase of slave representation in the House of Representatives."

And, three years later, in the summer of 1851:

"I never would consent, and never have consented, that there should be one foot of slave territory beyond what the old thirteen States had at the formation of the Union. *Never, NEVER.*"

Thomas H. Benton.

In his "Thirty Years in the United States Senate," he says:

"My opposition to the extension of slavery dates farther back than 1844—forty years farther back—and as this is a suitable time for a

general declaration, and a sort of general conscience delivery, I will say that my opposition to it dates from 1804, when I was a student at law in the State of Tennessee, and studied the subject of African slavery in an American book—a Virginian book—Tucker's edition of Blackstone's Commentaries."

In a speech delivered in St. Louis, in 1856, Mr. Benton quoted the language of Clay (which we have already given), and added :

"It was a great and proud day for Mr. Clay, toward the latter days of his life, and if an artist could have been there to catch his expression as he uttered that sentiment, with its reflex on his face, and his countenance beaming with firmness of purpose, it would have been a glorious moment in which to transmit him to posterity—his countenance all alive and luminous with the ideas that beat in his bosom—that was a proud day. I could have wished that I had spoken the same words. I speak them now, telling you they were his, and adopting them as my own."

Thomas Marshall, of Va.

Hon. Thomas Marshall, in a speech delivered in the Virginia Legislature, in 1832, objects to slavery,

"Because it is ruinous to the whites, retards improvements, roots out an industrious population, banishes the yeomanry of the country—de-

prives the spinner, the weaver, the smith, the shoemaker, the carpenter, of employment and support."

Judge Gaston, of N. C.

In a speech before the Literary Societies of the College of North Carolina, he thus spoke :

"Disguise the truth as we may, and throw the blame where we will, it is slavery which, more than any other cause, keeps us back in the career of improvement. It stifles industry, and represses enterprise ; it is fatal to economy and providence ; it discourages skill ; impairs our strength as a community, and poisons morals at the fountain head."

Working Men, North and South.

Ponder these truths, and see how significantly they designate slavery as the great enemy of the industrial classes everywhere ; and resolve, as you would bequeath free homes and free institutions to your children, and your children's children, that no inch of the national domain, now free, shall ever be surrendered to the curse and blight of slavery.

DEMOCRACY---THEN AND NOW.

Our nation began its life by a solemn affirmation that "all men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which

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Wm Lloyd Garrison

are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." That was, then, the great American idea. Not that it originated with our forefathers, for it is as old as the race, but because it was, by common consent, adopted as the foundation principle of our government. It was honored as such by all of our earlier statesmen. Jefferson regarded the conviction that our liberties are the gift of God, as the only firm basis of a nation's security. There was no "rhetorical flourish" about the man, but in all that he affirmed concerning human rights, he was in downright earnest. And he was right. The party which recognized him as its founder and leader, also accepted his faith, believingly and lovingly. That which now claims the title of democratic, repudiates that faith with hatred and derision. It should then, in simply honesty, repudiate the democratic name as well.

Now, the whole party is drifting slavery-ward, and into an insolent denial of human rights. It began by justifying the usurpations of the slave power, *for a consideration*; now its ablest champions justify slavery as *right in itself*. Thus Charles O'Connor declares, that "It is not only not unjust, it is just, wise, and beneficent." Then, it necessarily follows that the slave-trade, which

our nation denounces as piracy, is also "just, wise, and beneficent." So, while the northern wing of the party justifies slavery, the Southern wing demands the re-opening of the foreign slave-trade. If the party succeeds in prolonging its tenure of power, the Southern wing will, as usual, compel the adoption of its policy to the still further impoverishment and debasement of the white laborer. His condition is already most pitiable wherever slavery prevails. Extend the institution, and you correspondingly extend the influences that depress and degrade labor everywhere.

The Poor Whites of the South.

Says Gov. Hammond, of S. C. :

"They obtain a precarious subsistence by occasional jobs, by hunting, by fishing, by plundering fields or folds, and too often, by what is in its effects far worse, trading with slaves, and inducing them to plunder for their benefit."

Says Mr. Wm. Geary, of the same State :

"A man who is an observer of things, could hardly pass through our country without being struck with the fact, that all the capital, enterprise, and intelligence, is employed in directing slave labor ; and the consequence is, that a large portion of our poor white people are wholly neglected, and are suffered to while away an exist-

ence in a state but one step in advance of the Indian of the forest. It is an evil of vast magnitude, and nothing but a change in public sentiment will effect its cure."

Says Mr. Farren, another Southern writer :

" In the more southern portion of this region, the non-slaveholders possess, generally, but very small means ; and the land which they possess is almost universally poor, and so sterile, that a scanty subsistence is all that can be derived from its cultivation ; and the more fertile soil being in the possession of the slaveholder, must forever remain out of the possession of those who have none."

This is the kind of fruit that slavery bears for poor white laborers. Do they wish to gather it, for themselves and their children, more abundantly in the territories ? If so, the way is easy.

Surrender this heritage of freedom, at the demand of the slave power, and you have cursed it for yourselves and your children forever.

Southern Doctrine.

The enslavement of the laborer—the subversion of free institutions, and the substitution of those of despotism—these are the doctrines that flow naturally from the ethics of slavery. So we

find southern writers relinquishing their defence of slavery on the ground of the color of its victim, or his descent from Ham, and placing it on the broader and more logical basis of *condition*. "The laborer," we are told, "should be the property of the capitalist." Mr. George Fitzhugh, in a recent work published in Richmond, Va., says :

"But for Christianity, *Free Society* would be a wilderness of crime ; and Christianity has not fair play and a proper field of action, where Government has failed to institute the *peace-begetting and protecting influence of DOMESTIC SLAVERY*."

"Make the laboring man the slave of one man, instead of the slave of society, and he would be far better off." "Two hundred years of liberty have made white laborers a pauper banditti. Free society has failed, and that which is not free must be substituted."

"Say the Abolitionists, 'Man ought not to have property in man.' What a dreary, cold, bleak, inhospitable world this would be, with such doctrine carried into practice!" * * *

"Slavery has been too universal not to be necessary to nature, and man struggles in vain against nature." * * * "Free society is a failure. We slaveholders say, you must recur to Domestic Slavery, the oldest, the best, and the most common form of socialism."

"Free society is a monstrous abortion, and slavery the healthy, beautiful, and natural being

which they are trying, unconsciously, to adopt.”
 “The slaves are governed far better than the free laborers at the North are governed. Our negroes are not only better off as to physical comfort than free laborers, but their moral condition is better.”

“We do not adopt the theory that Ham was the ancestor to the negro race. The Jewish slaves were not negroes; and to find the justification of slavery to that race, would be to weaken its Scriptural authority, and to lose the whole weight of profane authority—for we read of no negro slavery in ancient times.” * * * *
 “Slavery, black or white, is right and necessary.”

“Nature has made the weak, in mind or body, slaves.” * * * “The wise and virtuous, the brave, the strong in mind and body, are born to command.”

“Men are not born entitled to equal rights. It would be far nearer the truth to say, that ‘some were born with saddles on their backs, and others booted and spurred to ride them—and the riding does them good.’ ‘They need the reins, the bit and the spur.’ ‘Life and Liberty are not inalienable.’ The Declaration of Independence is exuberantly false, and aborescently fallacious.”

. Southern Democracy Endorses It.

The *Richmond (Va.) Enquirer*, the leading Democratic paper of the South, endorses this monstrous doctrine, which thus truculently as-

sails Free Society, and would reduce the laboring man everywhere, whatever his color, to the condition of the *slave*, or to that of the beast, rather, ready saddled to be rode by the capitalist, booted and spurred, under the plea, by way of justification, that "the riding does them good."

Says the *Enquirer* :

"Until recently, the defence of slavery has labored under great difficulties, because its apologists—for they were merely apologists—took half-way ground. They confined the defence of slavery to *mere negro slavery*, thereby giving up the slavery principle, admitting other forms of slavery to be wrong; and yielding up the authority of the Bible, and of the history, practices, and experience of mankind. Human experience, showing *the universal success of slave society, and the universal failure of free society*, was unavailing to them, because they were precluded from employing it, by admitting slavery in the abstract to be wrong. The defence of mere negro slavery involved them in still greater difficulty. *The laws of all the Southern States justified the holding of WHITE MEN in slavery*, provided that through the mother they were descended, however remotely, from a negro slave. The bright mulattoes, according to their theory, were wrongfully held in slavery."

"The line of defence, however, is changed now, and the North is completely cornered, and dumb as an oyster. *The South now maintains that slavery is right, natural, and necessary.* It shows that all

divine, and almost all human authority justifies it. The South further charges, that the little experiment of *free society in Western Europe has been, from the beginning, a cruel failure*, and that symptoms of failure are abundant in our North. While it is far more obvious that negroes be slaves than whites—for they are only fit to labor, not to direct—yet the *principle of slavery is, in itself, right, and does not depend on DIFFERENCE OF COMPLEXION.*”

John C. Calhoun.

This man, probably, did more than any other to extirpate Jeffersonian democracy from the Southern States, and to introduce in its stead a political philosophy worthy of the darkest period of the Dark Ages. He still called himself democratic—probably with something of that grim pleasantry which Satan might be expected to indulge in after his fall, in claiming for himself an *angelic nature*. Certainly his type of democracy (we mean Calhoun’s, not Satan’s, though, probably, the difference between the two is nothing to speak of) differs as widely from Jefferson’s as absolutism does from republicanism. At first, his reactionary philosophy made but little progress at the South; he was denounced by men of all parties as false, not merely to the democratic principle, but to the Constitution itself; for, at

that time, the spirit infused into the masses by the doctrines of the Revolution had not utterly died out under the blighting influence of slavery. But Calhoun was persistent and logical, and to-day his principles are accepted by a majority of the statesmen of the South. In regard to the relation that should exist between Capital and Labor, his whole theory was condensed in the following proposition :

"The proper condition of the laboring class is slavery, and the capitalist ought always to own the laborer."

This is Calhoun democracy. There is little if any other type left, South or North.

B. W. Leigh.

The Hon. Benjamin Watkins Leigh, of Virginia, thus substantially disfranchises the laboring man. Says he :

"There must be some peasantry, that is, men who tend the herds and dig the soil, who have neither real nor personal capital of their own, and who earn their daily bread by the sweat of the brow. I ask gentlemen to say whether those who depend upon their daily labor for subsistence, can or do ever enter into political affairs ? They never do, never will, never can."

President Drew.

In the same spirit President Drew, of William and Mary College, Virginia, asks :

"How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plow, that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen, is occupied in labor, and whose talk is of bullocks? * * * Contrasting the condition of *white slaves* (the laboring population) in New-England with our slaves in the South, is like comparing Egyptian bondage, under Pharoah's taskmasters, with millennial glory. .

Governor McDuffie.

In one of his annual messages to the Legislature of South Carolina, this distinguished apostle of the Calhoun democracy says :

"No community ever existed without domestic servitude, and we may confidently assert that none ever will. In the very nature of things there must be persons to discharge all the different offices of society, from the highest to the lowest. Some of these offices are regarded as *degrading*, though they must and will be performed. When these offices are performed by members of the political community, *a dangerous element is obviously introduced into the body politic.* * * * It will be fortunate for the non-slaveholding States if they are not, in less than a quarter of a century, driven to the adoption of a similar institution, or take refuge from robbery and anarchy under a military despotism. * * * In a word, *the institution of domestic slavery supercedes the necessity of an order of nobility.*"

All of which means, that *labor* (not color) is the badge of servitude ; that *slavery*, or a *military*

despotism, can alone save us from anarchy, and that the elective franchise cannot be safely entrusted to the hands of the laboring population.

This contemptuous estimate of the laborer is a natural result of slavery. Wherever the cause exists, the effect will be found—whether it be in South Carolina, or in Kansas; in Alabama or New-Mexico. He is no friend of the laboring man, then, who will consent to the extension of this labor-degrading institution over territory now free. No matter under what specious pretence of comity, or by what cunning sophistry of argument it is urged—it is simply a proposition to abridge the liberties and degrade the manhood of the laborer, and load him down with social and political disabilities, in all the territories of the Union; thus robbing the people of the free States, the immigrant from foreign lands, and their children, to the latest generation, of that glorious heritage of freedom bequeathed to us by our fathers.

For this robbery there is *no* justification; for this contempt of the laboring man, but *one* excuse—and that is found in the fact that so many of our working population, both native and immigrant, consent, through their political association with the Calhoun democracy, to this

robbing of themselves, and this degradation of their class. For the immigrant, indeed, there is this apology—he is deluded by the word *democracy*, which in his mind stands for something widely different from fraternity with slavery-aggression, which now bears that honored name. The idea which the word democracy represents to his mind (if he be, indeed, a true lover of freedom) is found actualized in the creed of the Republican party; while the most odious of despotic principles, and the most abhorrent of despotic practices, are taught and wrought by that great pro-slavery party which is democratic only in *name*. Let this delusion be dissipated, and the thousands who fly from the oppressions of the Old World to enjoy the liberties of the New, will take their appropriate position in the ranks of the Republican organization, while every native-born citizen who covets for our land the glory that only free institutions can give it, and who has the intelligence to see how incompatible with these is the policy which would nationalize slavery, will be found shoulder to shoulder with them, in the struggle to bring back our government to the policy inaugurated by its fathers.

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